

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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LETTING THE CAT OUT



THE COOK (Mrs. Humphry Ward): "O horror! I had disguised the cat so carefully in that pretty bag."
PAGE BOY (Sir Almroth Wright): "Garn! You're only a woman."

In his book, "The Unexpurgated Case against Woman Suffrage," Sir Almroth Wright says: "One would not be very far from the truth if one alleged that there are no good women, but only women who have lived under the influence of good men."

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Our Cartoon	18
The Outlook	18
"New Policy for a General Election"	18
"Betsy." By G. C.....	18
The Complete Rebel	17
A Reply to Sir Almroth Wright. By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.....	18
An Indictment of the Government. By an Old-Fashioned Liberal	19
	22

PAGE
VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship 19
The W.S.P.U. and the Law 20
Sir Almroth Wright and Australian Women Voters 20
Women's Conference at Hull 21
Suffragists in Prison 21
No Playtime! A White Paper on the Employment of Children 21
Comparison of Punishments 22

has specifically denied any intention of such connection. Yet in May last the Government, by throwing over them the wide net of a conspiracy charge, secured their conviction and sentence. Both women in prison adopted the hunger strike, and were released "under license" in a condition of great weakness. Mrs. Sanders was shortly afterwards re-arrested, and after another hunger strike again released.

On License

Then followed several months during which the Government took no further step, in spite of the fact that the whereabouts of both women were known to the police. An influentially signed petition on behalf of Miss Kerr drew from Mr. McKenna the statement that he would grant her full release only on the condition of her signing an undertaking which he must well know suffragists invariably refuse on principle to give. Last week they returned to take up their routine duties at the headquarters of the Union when they were promptly rearrested. Both again adopted the hunger strike, and both have been now again released on license.

Political Intimidation

In appraising the meaning of these facts, it has to be remembered that the Government have never even alleged that the W.S.P.U. as a whole was illegal; in fact, the exact contrary was stated specifically by one of the judges (Mr. Justice Darling) in a recent case; and further, we know that after the raid last

May the police vacated the W.S.P.U. offices and permitted the routine work to go on as before. Yet the return of Miss Kerr and Mrs. Sanders to their routine work at the W.S.P.U. is made the occasion of their arrest. It is, therefore, perfectly clear that the Government regard the optional powers conferred on them through the Cat and Mouse Act as a means of bringing pressure to bear on ex-prisoners to prevent them carrying on perfectly legal occupations if those occupations are politically displeasing to the Government.

Mr. Robson Paige

We next have to draw attention to the case of Mr. Robson Paige, who was arrested on the charge of obstructing the police, and who, in spite of his denial of the alleged offence, was sent to prison for one month last July. Owing to his allegiance to principle, he also carried out the hunger strike, and was subsequently released "on license," but was re-arrested and again released after a second hunger strike on August 6. In spite of the fact that he suffered at the time of his hunger strikes, and afterwards through consequent ill-health, a far severer and a far longer sentence than that inflicted on him by the court, his second re-arrest took place recently while he was crossing Tooting Common.

Other Prisoners

Consider thirdly the case of Mr. George Lansbury and the large number of other Cat and Mouse

DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

During the past few days the Government have provided several object lessons in the practical working of the Cat and Mouse Act. It would be difficult, in the modern annals of this country, to find a more degrading or more pitiable spectacle.

Mrs. Sanders and Miss Kerr

Consider first the case of Mrs. Sanders and Miss Kerr. Here are two women against whom no valid proof of connection with the violent actions of the W.S.P.U. has been given. One of them (Miss Kerr)

prisoners who are still at liberty, either because the Government dare not rearrest them, or because they cannot find them. And in this connection note that Miss Richardson, recently arrested for an alleged act of arson, was already a "mouse" under the Act. Finally consider, as an episode in the police-activity of a civilised country, the rearrest of Miss Annie Kenney on the stage of the London Pavilion in full view of an immense crowd of supporters, who, even if they had been in the first instance far less sympathetic with the victim than they actually were, could not have failed to have been provoked to intense indignation by the disgusting scene which was being enacted before them.

A Fosterer of Crime

When the Cat and Mouse Act was first introduced we denounced it as a cowardly and uncivilised measure; we predicted that it would fail utterly in its avowed object of putting down crime; and we warned the public that it gave improper optional powers to the Executive which were capable of very grave abuse. We are now able to point to the literal verification of every one of our worst forebodings. To-day we go further. We say that this Act is of itself a fosterer of crime. Firstly, because it prevents its victims returning to their normal peaceful avocations, and thereby incites them to commit crime; secondly, because it provokes in spectators a burning indignation which is the progenitor of violence; thirdly, because it brings the whole administration of justice into disrepute.

A Political Aspect

It may be that many of the present ministry who are politicians and not statesmen are not much troubled by this aspect of the question because they are concerned principally with party considerations. To them we would point out that the views we have just expressed are held by an increasing number of people widely differing in their attitude towards the revolutionary suffragists, and by none more strongly than those who up till recently were stalwart supporters of the Liberal Party. On page 19 of this issue we print an "Indictment of the Government," which has been sent to us by a man who has hitherto invariably voted Liberal. In these circumstances Mr. McKenna's statement, made in a speech this week to his constituents, that he is as good a "progressive" as any man that can be brought into the constituency against him, is seen to be nothing but an idle boast.

Death of a Hunger Striker

An ordinary prisoner named Alfred Davis, who has been carrying on the hunger strike in Bedford Prison, succumbed a few days ago to starvation. This tragic event directs attention to the gravity of the hunger strike protest, and brings home to everyone that those who undertake it are veritably staking life itself upon the justice of their demand. We warn the Government that the country will not hold them guiltless if, with this object lesson before them, they allow one of the suffrage prisoners to slip out of their hands into the hands of death.

A Cable from Australia

We are indebted to Miss Goldstein for sending us a cable which we print on page 20 of this issue, firstly correcting an entirely erroneous statement with regard to Australia made by Sir Almroth Wright in his book, and secondly informing our readers that Mrs. Wentworth Stanley, who at the Church Congress professed to speak from experience of the effect of woman suffrage in Australia, is unknown to Australian women.

A Sign of the Times

An interesting leading article, showing far more respect for the woman's movement than has hitherto been the case, appeared in the *Times* on Friday last:

The cry of "Votes for Women!" has attracted too much attention. It is only one expression of a great ferment which arises from deep-seated causes and is neither to be lightly condemned as a deplorable change nor hastily extolled as a beneficent one. A change is certainly in progress in the relative position of the sexes and the place of women in life—not so general, perhaps, as might be inferred from the noise it makes, but real, rapidly extending, and fraught with serious consequences for our civilization. Women are claiming a new part in life. Persons who dislike change have no doubt that the woman's movement is bad; those who like change are equally sure it is good. The pursuit of liberty goes on without ceasing; it is one of the fundamental objects of human endeavour and one of the keys to the interpretation of history. The woman's movement undoubtedly belongs to this age-long aspiration, and therein lies its strength.

The *Times* proceeds to discuss the claim that the woman's movement is a desire for service, and acknowledges that in this aspect also (particularly in their desire to raise the morality of the age) the women have much important work to carry through.

Items of Interest

Particulars of the public meeting in the Kingsway Hall next Thursday will be found in the adjoining column.

We comment elsewhere (page 20) upon the peculiarly flagrant disregard of evidence shown by a London magistrate.

LADY KNIGHTLEY OF FAWSLEY

In Lady Knightley of Fawsley, who died on Thursday in last week, suffragists have lost a staunch supporter. She helped actively in the formation of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, and was its President from 1908 until 1910. Obliged to resign on account of her work in connection with women's emigration, she maintained her interest in the objects of the Association by acting as Vice-President, and in that capacity presided over a mass meeting of Unionist Suffragists held in the Horticultural Hall, Westminster, on February 6 of this year.

Lady Knightley has been connected with many branches of public work. She has been a District Councillor, a Churchwarden, and a Parish Council Chairman. She was particularly interested in the training of girls, especially with a view to their obtaining posts in the colonies, and was one of the first members of the Executive of the Primrose League. Her gifts of organisation and far-sightedness made her a great power in local administrative matters, but she had besides a wide grasp of politics, and the *Manchester Guardian* recognises this in saying of her that "Had she been a man she would undoubtedly have been a statesman." And this was a woman to whom her country even denied a vote!

NEXT THURSDAY'S MEETING

In the Kingsway Hall at 8 p.m.

Following upon the discussion of the Woman's Movement at the Church Congress, special interest attaches to the pronouncement of views which will be made by the Bishop of Kensington at the Kingsway Hall on Thursday next, October 16, at the public meeting organised by the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship.

A very large proportion of the reserved seats have been already sold, and those wishing to obtain good positions are recommended therefore to apply at once for their seats.

The chair will be taken, at 8 p.m., by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and the other speakers will be Miss Evelyn Sharp and Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

The meeting is open to the public, but admission is by ticket only. Tickets (price 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d.) are obtainable from The Ticket Secretary, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street; as follows: Stalls, numbered and reserved, 2s. 6d. and 1s., unreserved 6d.; balcony, numbered and reserved (only a few left), 1s., unreserved 6d. There are also a few seats on the platform available at 2s. 6d. each.

SELLING "VOTES FOR WOMEN"

Paper selling is of especial value at the present time, because there is a great re-awakening of interest in the whole question, and a demand for information which the paper seller alone is able to supply. Trying as it is sometimes, it has, nevertheless, unexpected joys. Some of our sellers at the Church Congress were delighted with the friendliness shown to them on all sides. One of them writes that among the purchasers of her papers were three Bishops and an Archbishop. We hope that the reverend prelates had time to read as well as the courtesy to buy our paper.

Another says: "The children were my great allies. Some of them were very intelligent, and understood all I said to them. One little dark-haired girl about ten years old remarked, 'Yes, my mother, she do work hard,' and presently slipped two half-pennies into my hand for a paper. I think that is my pleasantest memory of Southampton."

We hope that our fine new offices will be busy as a hive with Fellows coming in and out for supplies and for advice as to pitches, meetings and other functions to sell at. Lists are kept, so that full directions can be obtained. Regular sellers are now at work, but we want many more. A new suburban pitch has been started. Will Fellows who live in the suburbs and are selling, or willing to sell, communicate with the Organiser in order that a helpful table of this branch of the Fellowship may be kept?

Encouragement of the advertisers in VOTES FOR WOMEN, by inspection and purchase of their articles, is a form of service which is of especial value. Fellows who are unable to give time to selling or to help in other such ways, are especially invited to assist us by their means.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Mrs. Jordan: Child of Nature." By Philip W. Sergeant. (London: Hutchinson, Price 16s. net.)

"The Rut." By E. Hamilton Moore. (London: Erskine Macdonald. Price 6s.)

"Personality and Womanhood." By R. M. Wills. (London: Wells, Gardner, Darton and Co. Price 5s. net.)

"The Emancipation of Englishwomen." By W. Lyon Bleasdale. (London: David Nutt. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

"Westminster Review." October. (London: E. Marlborough and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Tears and Triumph." By Dowell O'Reilly. (Printed by Beatty, Richardson and Co., Palings Buildings, Sydney, Australia. Price not stated.)

"Problems for the Married." By Bernard M. Hancock. (London: John Bale, Sons, and Danielson, Ltd. Price 3d.)

"Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Review." Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, (48, Dover Street, Piccadilly. Price 2d.)

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"NEW POLICY FOR A GENERAL ELECTION"

Views of Our Readers Upon Our Proposal

In last week's paper we forecasted the possibility of an early General Election and discussed the right policy for Woman Suffragists to adopt in such an event.

We pointed out that at a General Election the existing policies of the principal Suffrage Societies would become ineffective, both separately, and also taken in conjunction, because they are to a large extent mutually conflicting, and we counselled the adoption of concerted action of a new kind.

We recommended that, as soon as a General Election was declared, Suffragists acting in concert should approach the leaders of the principal political parties to ascertain what steps they proposed to take to give effect to the popular demand for Woman Suffrage, in the event of their being returned to power at the election. We recommended that on receipt of replies to these questions a direct election policy should be adopted.

These proposals have already attracted a good deal of attention, and we give below letters we have received from our readers dealing with them. We reserve our own comments and further development of our policy till next week.

A SCOTTISH POLICY

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Madam.—May I ask for space in which to make known the policy of the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, a policy they are adopting with an alacrity born of their desire to see their women free. The policy is quite simple. It recognises two men only in the matter: the Premier or Potential Premier of the two great parties in the State.

The study of the Franchise question and the action of the present Premier prove beyond doubt that if the Premier of a Government is opposed to a franchise measure, no supporter of the Premier looking to him for place and power dare disobey his "whips." Therefore, at elections and bye-elections the man to be observed is not the candidate himself, but the Premier or leader of his party. Thus, a Liberal candidate in favour of the vote must yet be fought against as one who is supporting a Premier who will not give it. This policy will apply to any Conservative Government which may come back to power without us on the programme.

It is not conceivable that a General Election could take place without us on the party programmes, but, if so, the policy of the Federation, though simple, is prepared for this emergency. And it will recognise none but Leaders of the parties.

A convention is to be held in London on Saturday, December 6, at 8 p.m., and the men of the North will make known their views. It is hoped that this coalition between the North and South will strengthen our forces and bring relief to the present intolerable situation.—Yours, &c.,

M. ARNOLIFFE SENNETT
(Hon. Organiser to the Federation).
Northern Men's Federation for Women's
Suffrage, 6, Wellington Road, St.
John's Wood, N.W.

A "SUICIDAL" SUGGESTION
To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.
Dear Madam.—I venture to write re your "New Policy," as you say you will welcome expressions of opinion. To my way of thinking your suggestion appears utterly wrong and suicidal. What would be the use of asking the Liberal leaders their intentions re suffrage? Have you not had enough experience yet of the lies that Liberals tell? Suppose they even said

they would bring in a Government measure, what guarantee have you that they would keep their word? They would, of course, fool you once more, and laugh at you for being so simple as to believe them. The best pressure that you could bring to bear upon the Conservatives would be to utterly defeat the Liberals. The Conservatives would then know what to expect if they treated us as the Liberals have. The Liberals ought to be fought against and defeated at the Election to convince politicians that women will not be trifled with.

When the Liberals have shown you again and again that at all costs they won't give the Vote, why should you think they will be likely to give the Vote when returned again to power? They will then be still less likely to give it, because, if they are returned, they will consider that that is the proof that the electors approve of their past conduct re votes and our women. They will then be more stiff-necked than ever, and will say that "the people have shown that they do not want the suffrage."

Both Balfour and Law have expressed themselves in favour of a limited franchise for women. If you ask them, and they say they will give votes, they will do so if returned with a big enough majority. I don't say that the Conservatives wish really to give votes, any more than the Liberals do; but the Conservatives have enough tact to give way sooner than be landed in awkward and impossible positions. The Conservatives may not mind the Liberals torturing women, but they themselves would have been too timid and too tactful to actually do these things had they been in office.

Don't Trust the Liberals

I would also trust the Conservatives sooner than the Liberals. The Conservatives do not tell the deliberate lies that Liberal politicians delight in telling. Theory and practice are two different things. The theories of Liberalism are beautiful, but these theories are used as dust to throw in the eyes of the electors; for all Liberal politicians care for, as a rule, is to get votes and to get on. Mr. Man once made a good remark when he said, "Conservatives are more or less honest, Liberals are more or less dishonest." Don't think I am biased by party feelings; I think the whole party system utterly rotten. My hope is that when women get the vote they will break down the party system. For a long time past I have thought, and said, that the only hope for us is that the Conservatives may get in with a big majority. In all probability then they will give limited suffrage—a limited suffrage would be in their own favour. Then when the Liberals came in afterwards they would at once enlarge the suffrage, as the enlarged suffrage would be in their favour. Does it not look as if my prophecy is coming true when Carson (supported by a suffrage opponent, F. E. Smith) is willing to give Irishwomen votes? It shows, as I thought, that the Conservatives are coming to the conclusion that they must give women votes. The Conservatives can't do worse than the Liberals, and probably will do much better. Why not give them a trial? To work for the Liberals now, no matter what they said, would be madness.—Yours, &c.,

DOROTHY GRANVILLE.
14, Ilford Avenue, Seacombe, Cheshire.

AN IRISH VIEW

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Madam.—I can, of course, only touch upon the Irish side of the question, without, however, presuming to offer a suggestion as to future action. In Ireland we are passing through a transition stage, so complex, so critical, and so

rapidly changing, that suffragists can do little more than watch developments with an alert and unprejudiced mind, and redouble their propagandist work. Current events in Ireland are altering the whole situation for Woman's Suffrage, and are altering them permanently, whatever be the solution of the Home Rule problem. Whether the country come under a Home Rule Government or remain under the British Parliament, Irish suffragists will have new forces and a new political adjustment to deal with. The promise of the enfranchisement of women under an Ulster Provisional Government, and the emergence of an anti-Redmondite Labour Party are two political developments of supreme importance to Irish suffragists. The action of the Ulster Unionist Council has pledged Irish Unionists to Woman's Suffrage; a step has been taken there which can never be retraced. However quietly, and even reluctantly, the Unionist women may seem now to take this conceded right, they will become less and less willing to relinquish it on any pretext.

An Anti-Redmondite Labour Party

The new spirit of political independence amongst the working classes is one of the most interesting and portentous developments in the political world which Ireland has known for a long time. The persistent indifference of the official Nationalists towards the interests and grievances of the working people is producing the inevitable effect, and in the country, as well as in Dublin, the same mood of discontent with the Redmondites is spreading and deepening. Everything points to the certainty that we shall henceforth have in Ireland a strong Labour party in favour of Home Rule, but anti-Redmondite. And when we remember to how great an extent the Redmond party have been dependent upon the Labour vote, we realise that this new development may produce extraordinary changes. From every point of view, the present situation is intensely significant, and opens up new lines of thought and hope, leading far beyond any merely insular prejudices or purposes.

The new Labour party is in favour of Woman's Suffrage. This is the fact which fills suffragists with hope for the future. It is a great thing to have the Unionists and the O'Brienites on our side; but the greatest acquisition is to have with us a party drawn from the ranks of our strongest opponents. Hitherto, political work for suffrage has had no reality in Ireland; it has consisted in little more than backing up the activities in England. Henceforward we shall have a political situation of our own to deal with, which will, in all probability, differ essentially from the English situation. Our first effort must be, therefore, to clear our minds of preconceptions formed by English influences, so that we may enter upon the coming new phase of our struggle with a fresh and unprejudiced spirit.—Yours truly,

LOUIS BENNETT,
Hon. Sec. Irishwomen's Suffrage
Federation.
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

NEED FOR UNITY

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Madam.—If some joint committee could approach Ministers, on the one hand, and the Front Opposition Bench on the other, with power to pledge the united support of Suffragists to one party or the other, your policy would be extremely effectual. But whatever the result of such interviews, I do not believe either the W.S.P.U. or the Conservative and Unionist Suffrage Society would work for Liberals, nor would the Liberal women work for Con-

servatives and Unionists. If this is so, the effectiveness of your policy is much impaired. Further, the effort to put the two parties into competition with one another might be foiled by an understanding between them. The chief alternative to your policy appears to be that of attacking constituencies held by anti-suffrage ministers, and confining efforts to pure propaganda in constituencies other than those where special efforts are called for. This, on the whole, seems less effective. It would, however, be a great step in progress if all suffrage societies formed a convention of delegates to discuss electoral policy, with the object of securing at least concerted action, if not actually action on identical lines.

A Woman's Strike Proposed

But I would suggest that something further is demanded by the situation than merely an electoral policy. The two chief ways by which the vote has been won against powerful resistance by unenfranchised classes have been the threat of something like civil war and the general strike. Attempts at the former, as the recent policy of the W.S.P.U., are clearly mortally injurious to the women's cause. The suffrage strike has not been tried, and has practically not been discussed. It should obviously take a form similar to that of an Italian general twenty-four hour strike—a day's holiday, as universal as possible, just once, and then repeated after a suitable interval if no definite progress is made by Parliament towards women's enfranchisement. The day for the strike should not, of course, come till after effective propaganda on behalf of the strike had been effectively carried on. The strike should be, as far as possible, by whole unions, men's as well as women's. Even the preliminary actions would have their effect—e.g., if branches of the Railwaymen's Union kept forwarding to their executive resolutions in favour of the plan. How would Thursday, July 1, 1914, do for the First Suffrage Day?—Yours faithfully,

G. S.

October 5.

REVOLUTION ON THE STAGE

New Play at the Savoy Theatre

Even the fine acting of Mr. H. B. Irving, Miss Marie Löhr, Miss Kate Cutler, and, in too small a part, of Miss May Whitty, cannot make of "The Grand Seigneur" anything but an unsatisfactory play. It is full of noise, of heroics, of battle and murder and sudden death, and all the while one feels perfectly certain that the French Revolution was never like that, and that if French men and women really once resembled the characters in the play, the guillotine was justified. Why does the French Revolution, that most dramatic event of all the ages, never form the basis on the stage of anything but melodrama? Almost any militant Suffragist could tell the authors of the new play at the Savoy where they have gone wrong in their view of things, where the sentiment rings false and the dialogue becomes absurd, and the people, especially the women, fall short of the lowest standards of artistic sincerity. And the faults of the play are the more to be regretted because the idea of it is good, and there is a certain amount of humour in it, and the acting, as we began by saying, is of a high level. Of course, some people go to the theatre to escape from life as it is, or ever was. To them we can conscientiously recommend "The Grand Seigneur," with its pretty scenery, its charming costumes, and—Mr. H. B. Irving.

THURSDAY NEXT, OCTOBER 16, at 8 p.m.

A Public Meeting under the auspices of the Votes for Women Fellowship will be addressed by

The BISHOP of KENSINGTON at the KINGSWAY HALL

Chair: Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

[See page 14.]



Autumn Fashions at Peter Robinson's

In all departments we are now exhibiting the AUTHENTIC FASHIONS for the coming season, and ladies will find a visit to our salons this week of more than usual interest. Particular attention is directed to the Costume and Coat Sections, where the latest and best ideas from the World's Fashion Centres are being displayed. The following examples are indicative of the splendid values always offered in these departments:



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"BETSY"

Coming out of church one day I met Betsy in the porch, and straightway fell a victim to her imitable ways as a beggar. No one but Betsy was ever so completely mistress of those shades of manner, look and voice that made it so clear the favour was all on her side. She conveyed to your mind without dispute the conviction that you owed her a debt of gratitude for an opportunity that might never recur, to redeem at an easy price the iniquities lying heavy on your miserable soul. Almsgiving with humility was the lesson she read you.

Partly it was her great stature, fine physique and grand carriage; partly it was the mixed stern, shrewd and pathetically sad look in her grey eyes that conveyed so much to you. You could not mistake Betsy for a professional beggar. I recognised that, in the old Irish peasant woman garbed in a shawl, a white apron, ample skirts and a rusty black Victorian bonnet, there stood one of Nature's "grandes dames"—a woman cast in heroic mould both of soul and body.

So in complete understanding we began an acquaintance that lasted several years, and was certainly less to Betsy's advantage than to mine.

I could not be said to "visit" Betsy in the parochial sense; we exchanged calls as we exchanged gifts.

For all her eighty odd years she still earned a living, if a somewhat precarious one—charing, minding children, or hawking flowers and fruit. The first time she called she asked for a book and left me two choice pears. I lent her a book, the sort one keeps for such purposes, piously banal, and very humbly bound. She took it with profuse thanks, wrapped it in a clean napkin with infinite reverence, and left me shamed.

When she returned it, carefully done up in clean paper, she sat down and unfolded in the language of epic some of the wonderful things she had derived, she said, from it, and from other like sources. I handed out my choicest-bound poet.

Later I went to see her. She lived in one poorly furnished room, and her abode was as neat and spotless as her person. When in an Irishwoman cleanliness is found allied to godliness—a somewhat rare combination, I must admit—both are in a superlative degree. This was so in Betsy's case.

My offering on this particular occasion was a pound of tea. Betsy insisted on sharing an immediate brew. While the kettle worked up steam she offered to read to me. At all times her accent was extremely difficult, and bore only a distant relationship to English. She read rapidly and fluently, and with an air of ecstatic enjoyment of her subject; but not one word penetrated my obtuse understanding. Puzzled, my eyes turned upon the book. Betsy had it on her knee—upside down! This discovery staggered me for a moment. Then it dawned upon me that Betsy's wonderful tales were stored in her memory; that most of them were from life, as her mind saw it, and not as it had been in her cruel experience. I believe she could read, slowly and with difficulty, and thus had spelled out many things which she dressed in all the grandeur of her poetic imagination, and sought to translate in a tongue she had never thoroughly mastered.

Hers was a fine intellect denied expression. She was a woman, therefore devoted to the menial service of a sex; condemned to a life of toil and suffering that her sons might profit by advantages of education and leisure and freedom their mother had never known.

Her ten children, borne to a worthless and drunken husband within an incredibly short space of years, had paid the debt of outraged nature. Seven had died in various stages of infancy and childhood; three only grew to man's estate. For twenty years Betsy had worked never less than sixteen hours a day—hard manual labour, broken only by short intervals of bearing and burying her children.

Most of the facts of her cruel story I gathered from others. Of "himself" Betsy spoke but once, and then not in blame; but it was obvious that in her silence his existence found a fitting oblivion.

The moral grandeur of Betsy's attitude towards life had something dreadful in it. To me it was horrible that she should accept as a matter of course, as the appointed lot of a Christian woman, her stunted mental powers, her abused and abortive maternity, her degraded wifehood, her long years of toil and hard living, and her forlorn old age.

Never a word of complaint passed her lips. Her acquaintance was a perfect Valhalla. None had ever

worked for such grand people, had met with such friends, or received such largesse for her humble toil as she. After I left the town, no doubt I also figured among the gods!

Betsy is dead. She is gone where she is no longer penalised for her womanhood. I often think of her; and I see her with the eyes of my soul, mounted on the wings of the Spirit that "bloweth where it listeth," leading in triumph the cohorts of Invincibles that are with our Woman's Army.

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THE COMPLETE REBEL†

Many people have rebellious patches which give to their conduct a mottled and insecure look. As every dog may bite a citizen once, so a good man may feel that he has a right to his fling on one subject or on one occasion. But he soon hastens to sow over his patch with correct sentiments, and by a general lack of sympathy to earn the epithet of well-balanced. The enthusiast for reform in the East may be cold to the cause of outlawed women at home. The denouncer of foreign slavery may be fighting against Trade Unionism in his own country. The rebel of Ulster may be the reactionary of St. Stephen's. Some are even satisfied to have their fling over reformed-spelling or no-salt, and turn to the rest of life one vast blind spot. Indeed, the complete rebel, the man who keeps his consciousness always on the alert, and his sympathy and knowledge in the same pocket, is one of the rarest of beings.

Mr. Nevinson's rebelliousness, as expressed in his essays, is as thoroughgoing as cubism or post-impressionism. His heart is not held empty by traditions and conventions. His "bounty is as boundless as the sea." And yet this is how he sums up the secret of the untiring fighter:

Every rebel is a Quietist at heart, seeking peace and ensuring it, willing to let the stream of time glide past without his stir, dreading the onset of indignation's claws, stopping his ears to the trumpet-call of action, and always tempted to leave vengeance to Him who has promised to repay.

These words are profoundly true. The rebel knows that there is no use crying "Peace, Peace!" where there is no peace, and where there never can be peace till every battle is fought and every victory won. This is the "principle" that guides, or rather goads, the true rebel, a principle so deep and wide that critics cannot find it when they accuse the rebel of being "unbalanced," of tilting now at this, now at that, of being unstable, of having no rule of life. The restlessness that will not let the sword sleep in the hand, or the words remain silent on the lips, arises from the perpetual consciousness of "The Hound of Another's Hell."

But if the rebel is as haunted as Orestes, he is also the Happy Warrior:

If he wins, the more barbarous his suppression has been, so much the finer is his triumph, so much the sweeter the wild justice of his revenge. It is a high reward when the slow world comes swinging round to your despised and persecuted cause. . . . Whether he wins or loses, he will have enjoyed a comradeship such as is nowhere else to be found. . . . To him it has been granted to hand on the torch of that impassioned movement and change by which the soul of man appears slowly to be working out its transfiguration.

To the rebel also must belong the genius of perception. He must be able to see and hail Freedom's flag while it is still streaming against the wind; he must not wait to praise it when all the winds are changed. In the essay "Either Cowards or Unhappy," Mr. Nevinson finely illustrates some of the curiosities of that contemporary disdain which turns (with the wheel of Fortune) to retrospective adulation. The great instance is Swinburne, a passionate poet of Italy's past struggles, who had no sympathy or understanding for the Boer or the Irishman—a paper fighter to be abashed by the ghost of Byron, who was ready and glad to die for what he could praise.

The rebel then must be sorrowful, he must be full of joy, and he must see the vision.

Every Suffragist is aware of Mr. Nevinson's tireless championing of their cause and of the spirit of militancy. In essay after essay, often in the most unexpected places, he introduces the subject of the woman's fight. He generally brings it in quietly and naturally in a context in which the average reader is least prepared to find it, and where consequently it has most effect. There are still people who may give a start of surprise when they find the militancy of voteless women included among the great revolts of history, or when they read that if Joan of Arc were in England now the nation would treat her as it does the Suffragettes. But the qualities of dash and daring are always present in Mr. Nevinson's expressions of sympathy and appreciation. One can only wonder how he has had time to know and understand so many types of struggling human beings. Whether it is a fallen Sultan or a tormented peasant, the priest of Nemi, or the Maid of Orleans, the workhouse boy or the Hindoo, the Suffragists or the Corn Law fighters—they are all presented to us in the light of that particular kind of imagination which leads direct to the truth.

As a contrast to rebels of all kinds and colours, we welcome the serene presence of our old friend, Mr. Clarkson. Mr. Clarkson trying to "mind" an empty house and utterly defeated by the task of getting his own breakfast, or Mr. Clarkson at the beauty show, or as a jurymen—he is always delightful. Does he appear in this volume as a warning of what a man may become if he does not take to rebellion? I hope Mr. Clarkson is still alive, he is such restful company. There are other detached essays, introduced as the author suggests, to help to keep us all sane.

But after all, nothing is so sane as anger and intolerance directed against every form of oppression and cruelty, and that splendid intolerance is generally found in those who have humour as well as indignation, who can laugh with mankind as well as pity him, enjoy a joke at his expense as well as fight for him. This happy combination keeps the complete rebel perpetually young, for with every new cause he and his enthusiasm are born again. All who care about the life of the world will thank Mr. Nevinson for giving them this book.

† "Essays in Rebellion." By Henry W. Nevinson. (London: James Nisbet and Co. Price 6s. net.)

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1913.

A REPLY TO SIR ALMROTH WRIGHT

There was something of genius in the title announced some months ago of a book about to be published which was to expose all the flaws in man's helpmate, and incidentally all the dark secrets of anti-Suffrage mentality. Neither Suffragist nor anti-Suffragist could fail to be thrilled by the thought of the "horrible revelations" implicitly promised in "The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage." But those who looked for sensation must be woefully disappointed. There are no thrills and no shocks and no revelations in "The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage." From cover to cover there is neither a spark of originality nor a flash of wit; the book is nothing but a collection of dreary old tags from a philosophy fully worked out in the writings of mad friars in the Middle Ages and of disillusioned rakes of all periods. It is as dull as hashed mutton! And as stale as yesterday's hashed mutton, to boot!

But it is not alone the thrill that is lacking. There is not a single paragraph in the book that bears evidence to the scientific eminence of the writer. Where we looked for the outcome of research we discover nothing more intellectual than the incoherent mumblings of a peevish old man. Both the thought and the literary expression are slipshod to an amazing degree. As an illustration of muddle-headedness of thought, we would refer to the passage that has been most widely quoted in the daily Press:

No upright mind can fail to see that the woman who lives in a condition of financial dependence upon man has no moral claim to unrestricted liberty.

Since no human being has a moral claim to unrestricted liberty, we presume the author's meaning to be that a woman in a condition of financial dependence upon a man has no moral claim to the liberty implied in self-government. There are three replies to this assertion that will occur immediately to any intelligent mind.

The first is that the overwhelming majority of women—twelve out of thirteen millions—are no more in financial dependence upon men than the industrial classes generally are in financial dependence upon the class of employers. In the same way that Capital and Labour are interdependent, so the two supporters of the vast majority of families in this country are interdependent, the woman upon the man for cash, the man upon the woman for the maintenance that her service supplies to him and their children. If the pay-masters alone are entitled to citizenship, then all who live by labour spent in service to the community must be excluded from citizenship, including all wage-earning men.

The second reply to this absurd statement takes the form of a question: "What about the women whose

husbands are financially dependent upon them?" There are hosts of them. There are nearly five millions of women actually engaged in industrialism, women who depend entirely upon their industrial labour for their own livelihood, or women who contribute to the income of the family. Many support their husbands and their children. There are whole towns on the coasts where the houses are owned by women who keep boarding establishments and let lodgings, and who form the majority of the rate-payers. What about these women and what about the men who depend upon them? Should all men who live in a condition of financial dependence—partial or complete—upon women renounce their moral claim to constitutional liberty?

The third reply goes a little deeper. Since soldiers and sailors and Cabinet Ministers are withdrawn from productive labour in the commercial sense of the term, and are "kept" by the State in return for their services, and are not, because of this fact, deprived of their moral right to self-government, how can it be urged that women who serve the State by performing the great service of replenishing it with new citizens (without that return which is accorded to all its other ministers) should be penalised by the withdrawal from them of the moral right to such liberty as other servants of the State enjoy?

The fact is that Sir Almroth Wright, in turning aside from that field of knowledge wherein he is an expert to the domain of human life wherein he is a dunce, has committed himself to a tirade of unmitigated tosh and twaddle of which, if he has any of the saving sense of humour, he will yet be heartily ashamed.

As an example of the slipshod literary style, we need only quote the following paragraph actually as it stands (the italics being our own):

"What is required is to find the proper compromise. As to what that would be there is, as between the *ordinary man and woman* on the one side and the *male crank* and the battalions of *sentimental women* on the other, a conflict which is to all intents and purposes a *sex war*."

How a conflict can be a sex war, which is waged between a certain group of men and women on the one side and another group of men and women on the other side, Sir Almroth Wright does not stay to explain.

There are, however, other reasons besides the dulness and silliness of the book itself to account for its failure. Like the old "Mother-in-law" joke and the "Old Maid" gibe, this kind of woman-rating has gone out of fashion. Like gallantry, it is belated. Sir Almroth Wright has vastly embarrassed his anti-Suffragist friends by committing the sort of solecism which brings a blush even to the painted cheek of Society. His anti-Suffrage friends in the journalistic world acknowledge him with the most distant of bows. His reviewers, unless they disown his views, confine themselves to non-committal quotations; and editorial sympathies find their only scope in headlines. Even the *Times*, which gave a column of its editorial page and its largest type to a more exciting but not more reputable effusion a year ago, can no longer brazen the situation out. A few inches of cold and colourless reference is all the *Times* will vouchsafe to-day to a review, and a long leading article on "Woman's Part in Life" is published at the same time to emphasise its own totally different views upon the significance of the Woman's Movement.

Few changes in modern life have been more rapid or more amazing than the alteration in the attitude of the thinking world towards women. Nothing has marked the change more significantly than the cold reception of such a book, so widely advertised and connected with so eminent a name.

We have only to remember the terribly malignant influence wielded in the early days of the Christian Church by a few writers who were dominated by the same sex obsession as that which plainly dominates this renowned bacteriologist. They were able to contaminate the Church, and pervert the teaching and practice of its Founder by distorting His ideal of human equality.

Again, in the Middle Ages that infamous document, "The Witch Hammer," compiled by two fanatical Dominican Friars filled with sex rancour, enlisted Church and judgment-chamber in a horrible war against women, and spread sex mania all over Europe like a virulent disease that lasted for over two centuries, and brought hundreds of thousands of women victims to their death by torture and flame.

In later times the doctrines of Nietzsche, Strindberg and others inoculated the Universities and evolved the Asquiths and Harcourts of a Liberal Cabinet.

But to-day that virus is spent. War there may be between a Government and rebel women who are in revolt against the antiquated legal system that has to be changed in order to adapt itself to the needs and ideas of the present time. But the anti-Suffrage idea is dead. And Sir Almroth Wright's book is the last nail in its coffin.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

AN INDICTMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT

By an Old-Fashioned Liberal

There are occasions when silence is a betrayal of principle, and, as a life-long supporter of Liberalism, who has never, at a Parliamentary election, voted for any but the Liberal candidate, I am anxious to give expression in VOTES FOR WOMEN to the feeling of indignation with which I read of Mr. McKenna's recent applications of the Cat and Mouse Act. The way in which the agitation for woman suffrage has been handled by Mr. Asquith's administration has strained—in very many cases to more than breaking point—the party loyalty of a section of Mr. Asquith's followers, and especially of that section whose assistance is looked for when active and enthusiastic service is required. But I cannot help feeling that a further support of the present Government will be regarded by all true Liberals as a desertion of the traditions in which they have been nurtured, and a betrayal of the principles in which they believe. When Burke said that the man who supports every administration subverts all government, he expressed a sentiment that a good many Liberals must be feeling just now. For we Liberals cannot look back on the history of the past twelve years with unalloyed satisfaction. Denshawai is not altogether forgotten. We do not find it easy to reconcile the torture of prisoners in India with doctrines we have inherited from Romilly.

But, what is of greater moment to readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN, we have been compelled to watch the Government which we placed in power abandoning many of the root principles by the profession of which they claimed our support. They asked us to give them power to abolish the veto of the House of Lords because they desired to see the people of this country its real governors, and we have seen them imprisoning and torturing women because they demanded that half of the people of the country should not be excluded from that government. They told us that the will of the people must prevail, and though the principle of votes for women commands, by universal consent, a majority of votes in the House of Commons, a measure embodying it has not yet been entered on the statute book owing to the Prime Minister's cynical and unexplained refusal to carry out his most solemn pledges. One after another, the most cherished principles of Liberalism have been thrown overboard—the right of public meeting, the liberty of the Press, freedom of association, even freedom of speech—all have been attacked by a Government calling itself Liberal, and have been preserved in defiance of the efforts of its executive.

The Conduct of a Bully

But the events of the past few weeks would have seemed the worst that could be feared from an administration composed of men who technically, at least, are Liberals, were it not for the talent which Mr. McKenna has shown in exploring fresh depths of infamy. For a Government to pass and apply laws which have no other object than to suppress its political opponents, and to strain those laws in their application, is the conduct of a bully. For a Government to affect ignorance of the actions of those who are organising an armed rebellion against its authority is the conduct of a coward. And when Liberals are compelled to gaze upon their leaders acting the part of a bullying coward, they are forced to the conclusion either that there is something wrong with Liberalism, or there is something wrong with Liberals.

Let us examine the attitude of our Liberal Government as it hides itself in Ulster, and as it shows itself in London. In the one case we see two Privy Councillors, Sir Edward Carson and Mr. F. E. Smith, inciting their followers, not merely to resistance, but to open rebellion against the government of the country. They have held reviews of armed men, and Sir Edward Carson has asserted that the actions of himself and his followers were illegal, and that the Government knew them to be illegal. And what has been the Liberal reply? A member of the Government, Mr. J. M. Robertson, has been put up to tell Sir Edward Carson and his followers that if they persisted in their rebellion and carried their treason to still further lengths, the Government would not hesitate, as an extreme step, the gravity of which they were fully conscious—to stop their letters. On the other hand we see women like Mrs. Sanders and Miss Kerr, members of a perfectly legal political organisation, arrested and sent to prison solely because they persisted in the constitutional advocacy

of political principles that are personally repugnant to Mr. McKenna, for no other interpretation is possible from Mr. McKenna's letters in Miss Kerr's case, with which readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN are already acquainted.

There is a passage in Burke's "Thoughts on the Present Discontents," a pamphlet which our Liberal leader, Lord Morley, describes as "one of the monumental pieces of political literature," which has a good deal of bearing on this episode. After expressing his contempt for the pretence that Wilkes had been punished for the indecency of his publications at a time when "the most treasonable invectives of the laws, liberties, and constitution of the country had not met with the slightest animadversion," Burke adds these memorable words: "If he (Wilkes) had fallen in a common slaughter of libellers and blasphemers, I could well believe that nothing more was meant than was pretended. . . . When, therefore, I reflect upon this method pursued by this Cabal in distributing rewards and punishments, I must conclude that Mr. Wilkes is the object of persecution, not on account of what he has done in common with others who are the objects of reward, but for that in which he differs from many of them: that he is pursued for the spirited dispositions that are blended with his vices, for his unconquerable firmness, for his resolute, indefatigable, strenuous resistance against oppression."

The Women's Unconquerable Firmness

Does anybody who sees Sir Edward Carson and Mr. F. E. Smith enjoying the honours of the Privy Council, and Mrs. Sanders and Miss Kerr suffering torture in prison, doubt that the difference of treatment is because of the women's unconquerable firmness, and their resolute, indefatigable, strenuous resistance against oppression?

Another fact which I should like to point out makes Mr. McKenna's action still more indefensible. The petition sent to the Home Office in Miss Kerr's case, and the statement that accompanied it, convinced everybody who read them that Miss Kerr had nothing to do with the outrages that led to her conviction, and that she had at no period been concerned with anything except the strictly constitutional work carried on in the offices of the W.S.P.U., and the correspondence to which the petition gave rise showed that Mr. McKenna believed this. Yet when she goes back to that work, Mr. McKenna has her again arrested because she will not write to him confirming a letter which he himself—I quote his own words—thinks "is honestly intended to mean that she gives

an assurance that she will not break the law." Could a meaner quibble occur even to Mr. McKenna's mind? He believes that Miss Kerr honestly intends not to break the law, but he sends her back to prison because she will not utter the particular formula which he proposes! And bear in mind that, though Mrs. Sanders was back in the offices of the W.S.P.U. carrying on her ordinary work there some two months ago, no step is taken to arrest her until Parliament is not sitting, and Mr. McKenna is thus immune from criticism in his place in the House.

Every Criticism Justified

The more one examines the whole shameful business the more evident does it become that every criticism directed against the Cat and Mouse Act, both in the House of Commons and outside it, has been abundantly justified. Its object, as Mr. McCurdy said at the second reading debate, "is to restrict the liberty of the subject, and to give the Secretary of State power to extend the term of imprisonment imposed upon certain prisoners under his care by the judge who tried them for the offence for which they were sent to prison, and to do so upon any terms or conditions which he, in his discretion, may think fit, without reference to judge or jury." It enables, as even so ebullient an anti-Suffragist as Mr. MacCallum Scott pointed out on the same occasion, "the Home Secretary and the Government, in the case of some prisoners to whom they were very hostile, to keep the sentence of imprisonment hanging over their heads for years." Are Liberals going to remain unmoved while such powers are in the hands of the Executive, and are they going to tolerate their abuse by a man of the type of Mr. McKenna? Are they content to watch the *Morning Post* gleefully congratulating its readers on the fact that nothing in the way of repressive measures against political opponents will need to be passed when the next Tory Government comes into office? I can hardly believe it possible. The limit was surely reached when Mr. McKenna let Cargill, the man who was convicted of assaults upon little children, go free, while using all the forces at his command to suppress a movement which commands the support of a majority of the Liberal members of the House of Commons. Mr. McKenna has, not in words, but by deeds, shown his sympathy for Cargill. None of us wish to prevent its expression. But there are Liberals not a few who are resolved at the soonest possible moment to prevent Mr. McKenna, or anybody like him, from any more betrayals of the principles which we hold in honour, and which he has degraded and defiled.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Colours: Purple, White, and Red. Motto: "Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"

All Fellows in London are asked to concentrate all their thoughts and energies until next Thursday upon schemes for filling the Kingsway Hall to overflowing.

A large proportion of the reserved seats have been already taken up, and a splendid audience is secured. But that is not enough. We must have every unreserved as well as every reserved seat filled, and, if possible, by members of the general public who have not yet attached themselves to any section of the Woman's Movement. This is the task set before the Fellows to be accomplished during the next few days. At the workers' meeting, held at Red Lion Court last Monday, the following suggestions were made, and we invite the co-operation of all readers of the paper in carrying them out.

- In consideration of the fact that the Bishop of Kensington is to be the chief speaker, a special advertisement campaign will be carried out amongst churchgoers. To this end there will be a distribution of handbills outside some of the principal churches next Sunday; will volunteers for Sunday handbill distribution please send in their names at once to Miss Margaret Fagg, at 47, Red Lion Court, and will they call at the above office for handbills or send a postcard requesting that handbills be sent through the post?

- Handbill distribution outside all Social Reform meetings that are being held during the next few days and outside the Ideal Home Exhibition. Will

all volunteers for this service apply to Miss Boultong, 47, Red Lion Court?

- Personal canvass. Will good customers approach the heads of trading firms where they habitually deal, especially those with a large staff of workers, with the request that a poster shall be exhibited in the dining-room of the staff and handbills laid on the table? Headmistresses of colleges, matrons of hospitals, and authorities who stand in relation to large numbers of young people should also be approached by their friends in the Fellowship and asked to give publicity to the meeting.

- Personal correspondence. Letters from members of a congregation to their clergy personally asking them to come and hear what the Bishop of Kensington has to say on this matter. Already much good work has been done in this direction. We want the clergy to understand the moral significance of the Woman's Movement.

- House to house canvass with handbills and tickets, especially in the neighbourhood of Kensington. There are many other ways of helping, like that suggested last week by two Fellows who have placed good advertisements in their local papers. The main thing is for every reader of VOTES FOR WOMEN in London to get to work at once and to see to it that he or she brings some man or woman to the meeting next Thursday who would not otherwise have known about it, or at any rate would not otherwise have come.

We expect a most rousing meeting, which will result in a largely increased band of fellow-workers and will inaugurate a vigorous missionary and political campaign.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, Hon. Sec.

THE W.S.P.U. AND THE LAW

Magistrate's Flagrant Disregard of Evidence in the Case of a Clergyman

When we went to press on Wednesday in last week, Mrs. Sanders and Miss Kerr had just been re-arrested after a struggle with the police in Kingsway and conveyed to Holloway Gaol. They at once adopted the hunger-strike, and Mrs. Sanders was released on licence last Saturday and Miss Kerr on Monday evening, both in a state of extreme weakness and collapse. On Monday afternoon Miss Annie Kenney was re-arrested on the stage of the Pavilion Theatre, the police having great difficulty in wresting her from her friends, who tried to rescue her; and there were scenes of great excitement both inside and outside the building, which culminated in the arrest of nine women and two men for obstruction.

One of those arrested was a clergyman who had taken no previous part in the movement, and who went into the box next day and stated on oath that he had not interfered in any way with the action of the police, but had merely stood on the edge of the crowd. In spite of the fact that his evidence was confirmed by that of two divinity students who had been with him the whole time, the magistrate, Mr. Mead, swept it aside in favour of the uncorroborated testimony of two policemen. We protest against this flagrant dereliction of magisterial duty, and we regard it as a grave scandal that there is no means in our English law of securing redress.

Miss Dulcie West, another victim of the Cat and Mouse Act, was also re-arrested on Monday afternoon; and on Tuesday, Miss Lilian Lenton at Paddington Station. During the week the burning of a house at Hampton Court, in connection with which Miss Richardson (another "mouse") and Miss Peace have been arrested, has been attributed to the militant Suffragists, as well as other lesser revolutionary actions; and Miss Casey has been sentenced to three months' hard labour for damaging letters in a pillar-box.

Last Wednesday Mrs. Drummond was brought up at Bow Street to answer conspiracy charges which were brought against her and other W.S.P.U. officials last May, and which in her case had been deferred owing to her serious illness, resulting in two severe operations.

As we go to press there are nine women and three men in prison in connection with the Suffrage agitation.

AT THE LONDON PAVILION

At first glance the London Pavilion might have been taken for the official residence of a Cabinet Minister last Monday afternoon, so surrounded was it with police and detectives. Miss Annie Kenney managed, however, to elude their vigilance, for she walked on to the stage with Mrs. Dacre Fox and Mrs. Drummond at the usual hour, and as soon as they had made short speeches, she rose to her feet and proceeded to address the meeting amid scenes of great enthusiasm.

"I hear that there are detectives behind the stage," she began. But she got no further, for immediately some thirty men or more rushed on from the wings under the direction of Inspector MacBrien, and attempted to surround her. She slipped through them, and made an effort to enter the stage box. In this she was frustrated, for they seized her just as she reached the box, and a fierce struggle followed. "The police," says the *Times*, "had to fight every inch of their ground to the stage door." They were obstructed, struck, and tripped up by women at every step. Surely never has such a scene been enacted on the Pavilion stage during the whole of its theatrical career. But for the grimness of the whole affair there would have been something extraordinarily dramatic in this fight, which took place before a packed house, between police and women, over the possession of one frail political opponent of a Liberal Government.

Outside the Pavilion

The police barred the stage door behind them, against their pursuers, but found it no easy matter to convey their captive to the waiting taxicab or to start on their way to Holloway when this had been accomplished. Directly they emerged from the Pavilion they were met by a hostile crowd of men and women, bent on obstructing their progress. Women even flung themselves in front of the cab in order to prevent it from starting, and there was what the *Morning Post* calls "an ugly scrimmage" before numbers prevailed and reinforcements of police at last succeeded in clearing the road. As a result of what took place, nine women and two men, one of them a clergyman, were arrested and taken to Vine Street Police Station.

The *Manchester Guardian* comments: "The crowd generally expressed great indignation at the way in which the police, who were undoubtedly very angry, had behaved."

Why the Raid was Made

After the arrest of Miss Kenney had been made, Mrs. Drummond observed in her speech: "We know that anybody who loans us offices or places of meeting is hounded down by the authorities. We

know that this scene upon the platform has come about by the instructions of Mr. McKenna, and has been engineered for the purpose of taking away this hall from the W.S.P.U. We want you women who are here to-day to do all you can to help us to keep order in order that nothing may be destroyed, and that we may stand by the authorities of the hall who have so kindly lent it to us."

In Wednesday's papers it was announced that the directors of the Pavilion had cancelled their contract with the Women's Social and Political Union, who are therefore negotiating for another hall. It was admitted that no damage had been done to the theatre by Monday's proceedings.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT

(By an Australian.)

The meeting at the Pavilion on Monday was of exceptional and painful interest. Mrs. Drummond's farewell speech before returning to prison, the violence of the scene on the platform when Miss Annie Kenney was arrested, and the speeches made by Mrs. Dacre Fox and Miss Naylor, all were touched with tragedy. There was, however, one interlude of almost farcical humour when Mrs. Dacre Fox sold by auction the relics collected by the stewards after the struggle on the stage—the detective's bowler hats, torn and battered, and a walking-stick taken from the Inspector. "Historical relics, these," said the chairman, "of great value some day. Who'll bid for the pieces of this hat?"

Bidding was rapid, and in a very short time the fragments were knocked down to an American lady for \$25, the purchaser explaining carefully that the hat was to go to America.

A man in a stage box rose, protesting that it was wrong to pay \$25 for a hat when the head that used to be inside it was not worth nearly so much. "I am a Norwegian," he said, "and I never thought I should live to see women treated as they have been treated to-day. Now for the first time I fully understand why the American colonies seceded from England. Why don't you women secede, refuse to obey, set up a government of your own?"

"We have set up a government of our own; we do refuse to obey," said Mrs. Dacre Fox. "Who will bid for this beautiful hat, in much better condition than the other?"

That also went for £5, and then the whole audience interested itself in the Inspector's stick.

This handsome stick was used to hit an Englishwoman over the head when she asked for liberty. Who bids? 30s., £2?"

"The stick is not yours to sell," said a man in the audience. "You'll get into trouble."

"Possession is nine points of the law," said Mrs. Dacre Fox serenely. "£2, £2 10s. Going for £2 10s.! That lady in the gallery, please," and amid much amusement the stick was passed through the audience and hoisted by umbrellas to the gallery.

The scene was amusing enough, yet one felt that if the audience had witnessed the struggle which had so recently taken place outside the Pavilion, they would not have been in the mood to deal so good-humouredly with trophies of the platform fray. Some of us had followed Miss Kenney into the street, had watched the police as they grappled with the women who went to her rescue.

"Aren't they rough?" said a man standing beside me. "Did you see that? Did you see that plainclothes man strike that woman full in the face? He's knocked her senseless. They are much rougher with them than usual."

"Than usual!" So it has become "usual," I thought as I went back into the Pavilion, to strike and arrest women who are demanding their constitutional rights in Great Britain.

THE SEQUEL IN THE COURTS

Evidence Discredited

On Tuesday morning the nine women and two men who were arrested outside the Pavilion on Monday were brought up before Mr. Mead at Francis Street. All the defendants were charged with obstruction, and three of them with assault as well. One woman was bound over, and one was discharged; the others were all fined sums varying from 20s. to £3 with the option of terms of imprisonment ranging from ten to twenty days. In four cases the fines were paid; the rest elected to go to prison. (See page 21.)

The Scandal of Police Evidence

As is usual in these cases, the independent witness called for the defence might just as well have stayed away. Suffragists have grown familiar by this time with the fact that police evidence in the Courts is always allowed to override any evidence offered by the independent witness on behalf of the accused. This flagrant injustice was particularly apparent in the case of one of the defendants, the Rev. Father Miller, who not only called evidence to prove that he took no part in the disturbance, but denied on oath that he did so, or that he applied to a constable the opprobrious term attributed to him. In cross-examining a constable, he said: "Do

you suggest that I, a priest of the Church, am lying?"

Mr. Mead: You are suggesting that he, as a constable, whose chief stock-in-trade is truthfulness—(cries of "Oh! oh!" from the back of the Court)—is a liar.

The Defendant: I do not suggest it. I assert it.

The discrediting of the evidence called by Father Miller was all the more noticeable since it was given by two divinity students, whose account of what happened told in every particular (save one minor point) with what the defendant had said on oath when they were not in Court. Also, the principal witness against him was a constable who claimed to have arrested and taken him to the station, though Father Miller denied ever having seen him, and pointed out to the magistrate that the man was not one of those who appeared with him in the photograph that was published of his arrest in the Press. Mr. Mead declined to accept this or any other evidence for the defence, and on police evidence alone Father Miller was sentenced to a 40s. fine or 20 days' imprisonment.

It would be interesting also to know on what grounds the magistrate held the following dialogue with Miss Doris Rolph, the defendant who was discharged.

Mr. Mead: Do you approve of perjury for the purpose of carrying on this movement?—I do not know what that is.

Mr. Mead: Telling lies, then.—Certainly not.

MRS. DRUMMOND

Resumption of Treasury Prosecution

Last Wednesday, the proceedings which had been instituted against Mrs. Flora Drummond last May, as a result of the police raid upon the W.S.P.U. offices, and had been again deferred in July, were resumed at Bow Street Police Court before Mr. Graham Campbell. Mrs. Drummond surrendered to her bail, and walked into the dock with the aid of a stick. She looked very ill.

Mr. Bodkin, who appeared on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions, asked for a further remand in order that the case should be taken by Sir John Dickinson, and explained that when the defendant was last before the Court on July 8 she gave an undertaking not to take any part in the militant movement during the adjourned hearing of the charge against her. In view of that undertaking and the fact that Mrs. Drummond made a speech at the Pavilion on Tuesday last, he asked that the defendant should renew that undertaking.

Mrs. Drummond refused to consider this for a moment, denying that she had in any way broken that previously given. She added that if an undertaking was insisted upon she would go to Holloway and would there hunger-strike, "when I shall gain my liberty without any condition whatever," she added.

Ultimately the magistrate said he would grant a remand until October 23 on the same bail as before.

The sureties renewed their recognisances, and the defendant was then released.

She left the Court in a taxi-cab, to the accompaniment of loud cheers from the waiting crowd.

THE CAT AND MOUSE ACT RE-ARRESTS

Among the re-arrests this week under the Cat and Mouse Act, two stand out especially for mention. One is that of Miss Lilian Lenton, who was brought up at Richmond Police Court on Wednesday

and remanded on a charge of being concerned in the burning of the Kew tea pavilion last February. The charge against her has never been heard, for she disappeared after her release from prison in consequence of a hunger strike, and when re-arrested on a further charge last June and again released on hunger striking, she once more escaped, and has been missing until now.

Miss Richardson, who was re-arrested on the charge of burning a house at Hampton last week, has now four offences to her charge, and two sentences to complete, of which she has as yet served only twenty-one days.

Could there be two clearer examples of the futility of the Cat and Mouse Act?

IN THE COURTS

Friday, October 3.—At the Bradford City Quarter Sessions, charged with damaging the contents of a letter-box, Miss Irene Casey and Mrs. Holton; Miss Casey sentenced to three months' hard labour, Mrs. Holton discharged.

Saturday, October 4.—At the Teddington Police Court, charged with firing a house at Hampton-on-Thames the previous night, Miss Mary Richardson and Miss Rachel Peace; remanded in custody.

Monday, October 6.—At Feltham Police Court, on remand, Miss Richardson and Miss Peace; remanded till Monday, bail refused.

Tuesday, October 7.—At Marlborough Street, before Mr. Mead, charged with obstruction, Miss Deal, bound over; Miss Rogers, fined £3 or one month, fine paid; Miss Rolph, discharged; Miss Dalglish, fined 40s. or twenty days, fine not paid; Miss Warner, fined 20s. or ten days, fine paid; Mrs. Dove Wilcox, fined 40s. or twenty days, fine paid; Miss Evans, 20s. or ten days, fine not paid; Miss Caunter, fined 30s. or fifteen days, fine not paid; Miss Paterson, fined 40s. or twenty days, fine not paid; Rev. Francis Miller, fined 40s. or twenty days, fine paid; charged with obstruction and destroying a policeman's clothes, Mr. Wm. Ball, fined 40s. or twenty days, fine not paid.

Wednesday, October 8.—At Richmond, charged with firing the tea pavilion in Kew Gardens last February, Miss Lenton; remanded in custody till Thursday.

At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Graham Campbell, charged with conspiracy. Mrs. Drummond; remanded till October 23, bail allowed.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the Press to Suffragists during the week:

Wednesday, October 1.—Large haystack burnt at Edgware; Suffrage newspaper found near.

Friday, October 3.—Attempt to burn scenic railway at Yarmouth; Suffragists suspected, but no literature or message found.

Saturday, October 4.—Large unoccupied house destroyed by fire at Hampton-on-Thames; two arrests.

Tuesday, October 7.—Attempt to fire two large houses at Bedford; postcards with Suffrage messages found near.

Wednesday, October 8.—A number of telegraph wires cut at Birmingham, and suffrage flag placed at top of telegraph pole.

SIR ALMROTH WRIGHT AND AUSTRALIAN WOMEN VOTERS

Special Cab's to VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Sir Almroth Wright's assertions, re Australian women and legislators, are unfounded. The woman question here is the same as in England. Mrs. Wentworth Stanley is not known to Australian women.

VIDA GOLDSTEIN.

Mrs. Wentworth Stanley
Mrs. Wentworth Stanley, to whom Miss Goldstein also refers, was an Australian speaker at the Church Congress last week, where she is reported in the *Morning Post* (October 2) as having referred to some lectures given by a medical man at Melbourne on race suicide and infantile mortality, in which he appealed to his hearers to help in stopping the murder of the innocents over there. "So again," concluded Mrs. Wentworth Stanley, "the possession of Parliamentary power by women had not been followed by the blessings which were predicted as likely to flow from it in England."

THE TIMELY JEST

Sir Almroth declares that there are no good women. This is a bit rough on his mother—if the rumour that he had one be true. *Funch.*

WOMEN'S CONFERENCE AT HULL

Illusions to Woman Suffrage

At the Annual Conference of the National Union of Women Workers, which is being held this week at Hull, no suffrage discussion is down on the agenda, but the subject cannot, of course, be kept entirely out of the debates, since the text of the Conference is "The Children of the Nation," and all the papers read deal directly or indirectly with the future of the race. The surprising thing is that any Anti-Suffragist—and there are notable Anti-Suffragists in the membership of the N.U.W.W.—can come away from such a Conference without having discovered the futility of attacking this tremendous problem deprived of the elementary equipment of the vote.

In the Presidential Address

In her presidential address Mrs. Allan Bright, dealing with the health of the younger generation, said: "They needed so to stir public opinion that this housing problem, which struck at the health, the employment, and the morality of the nation, should be lifted above the accidents of party politics and be entrusted for its effectual solution to a responsible body of more humane men and women, to whom the welfare of the community, not the chances of the ballot-box, was of paramount importance."

This is undeniable. But public opinion never will be so stirred until the mothers as well as the fathers of the race have access to the ballot-boxes and to the power over the counsels of the nation that this will give them.

In the Archbishop's Speech

Similarly the Archbishop of York won his biggest round of applause for a remark which appears to have been to some extent accidental. Speaking on "Woman's Special Place," he said that it was in "enabling a community to understand and use the laws under which it lived that there was a special place for women, with their intuition, their quickness of observation, their wit, and their experience. Whilst there was always in the administration of our laws this great and most important place for women, there was also a great and increasing need of just these same qualities which women possessed, not only in administration but directly or indirectly in the shaping of our laws."

Surprised at the outburst of applause excited by this Suffragist admission, the Archbishop is reported to have "smiled," and added: "You must not always read into words meanings that they do not bear"—a somewhat cryptic remark that we can only explain by supposing that the Archbishop has been talking Suffrage all his life without knowing it.

The "Times" Comment

The *Times*, in a leading article on the subject before the Conference, says: "Here, assuredly, women are in their proper sphere. . . . Of all the wide-reaching effects of the woman's movement none is more clearly right and wholesome than this—that all through the country women are, because of it, increasingly alive to the sufferings and the claims, the rights and the wrongs, the needs and the possibilities, of the children to whom they have given birth. These things they realise as they have never realised them before. They are resolved, we may take it, that laws and customs which do not recognise that their children are the children of the nation are behind the times and must be altered."

(The italics are ours.) What can this mean but that the *Times* at long last has come to see the inevitability of the woman's vote?

SCHOOLS FOR FATHERS

We are very glad to see that Dr. Mary Murdoch, of Hull, spoke strongly at Tuesday's session on the duties of fathers. There was one legal parent—the father, she said; as a rule he was a sleeping partner as far as the duties of fatherhood were concerned. There was one real and active parent—the mother. Why should it be left to the mother to do all the drudgery while the father took his ease at the club or in his easy chair? The mother was often deficient in the duties of parenthood because she was untrained; but side by side with schools for mothers there ought to be schools for fathers.

"When we know personally," she continued, "of criminal assaults upon very young girls, and when we see the offender let off with a sentence of any time from two weeks to nine months instead of penal servitude, or when, on any slight pretence of ill-health, such a criminal is released unconditionally after serving a short period of his sentence, can we imagine that we are taking care of our children?"

A WOMAN FREEMAN

After 400 Years

Miss Maud Sellars, D.Lit., who has been made an honorary freeman of the York Adventurers' Company, is the first woman to be admitted for 400 years. Miss Sellars was for some time Mary Bateson Fellow of Newnham College, and recently edited the records of the Company of York Adventurers, which go back as far as 1357.

In the early days of York City there was nothing unusual in the existence of women freemen, though they suffered one unusual limitation in that city in being obliged to forfeit their freedom if they married a man who was not "free"—very much as they are municipally disfranchised to-day by being the wife or widow of an alien. In London, there were women members of most of the Trade Guilds (who were also freemen of the city), even of those which stood for occupations now supposed to be unsuitable for women. In the Guildhall records for 1595 it appears, for instance, that "The office of Plumber of London Bridge was granted to the Widow Foster." And there was one great advantage in admitting men and women on equal terms into these old guilds or companies—for when one Elizabeth Bartlett was entrusted with casting the second bell of St. Martin's Church, all the women employed were paid at the same rate as the men for the same work.

BRAVE WIVES

The *Daily Citizen*, referring to the strike of the Battersea sugar refiners, commented last Friday on the bravery of the men's wives and the way in which they were standing by their husbands in their fight for better conditions. "It is the conduct of the women," says the *Citizen*, "that is the moral of this strike. Quiet and splendid heroism has marked its course. Hundreds of little children are asking in vain for more bread, but it is the women who are suffering most of all. In one wretched home visited the mother had had no breakfast save a cup of tea."

It is not surprising that women feel they have a claim upon the support of men when they too are out to fight for their rights.

MRS. HARVEY'S TREATMENT IN PRISON

More details are now to hand of Mrs. Harvey's treatment in prison as a result of which she was released in a very low condition of health. Although she was confined in a hospital cell, the prison regulation by which these are scrubbed out every morning and the prisoner is left in an atmosphere of damp boards, soon brought on a rheumatic chill and gastric catarrh. An application to the Home Office for the services of a homoeopathic doctor was refused in the usual curt manner adopted by that department of the State towards prisoners who have broken the law on a matter of principle; and Mrs. Harvey became so ill that she lost a stone in weight.

When we remember that Mrs. Harvey was a passive resister to the laws which, as a voteless woman, she did not feel morally bound to obey, that she was therefore in the strictest sense of the words a political prisoner, this treatment of her in prison, quite apart from such Christian considerations as that she is elderly, delicate, and suffers badly from deafness, reflects the gravest discredit upon a Government supposed to uphold the liberties for which such women as she are fighting.

ANOTHER DEPUTATION TO DOWNING STREET

Galant Little Wales on the Warpath Again

A vigorous autumn campaign is announced by the Forward Cymric Suffrage Union. In addition to their London monthly meetings which will be held in the Carlton Hall on the first Monday in November and December, they are hoping to arrange meetings in the Welsh Chapels in London, and also in local centres throughout Wales. An election fund is further being raised in order that the constituencies in the Principality may be thoroughly worked at once in view of the forthcoming General Election.

If Ireland, Why Not Wales?

It will be remembered that last spring, after a long correspondence with the honorary organiser of the Union, Mrs. Mansell-Moulin, the Chancellor of the Exchequer refused to receive a deputation composed of his own countrywomen who waited upon him at his official residence in Downing Street. Seeing in the *Times* of October 1 that Mr. Lloyd George has consented to receive a deputation from the Irish Women's Suffrage Federation during his visit to Dublin next December, Mrs. Mansell-Moulin intends to write once more to the Chancellor, asking him to receive a deputation from the Forward Cymric Union as soon as he takes up his residence again in Downing Street. She hopes that members of the Union, both men and women, who wish to join the deputation will write to her immediately.

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The PUBLISHER, 47, RED LION COURT, E.C.

SUFFRAGISTS WHO ARE NOW IN PRISON

Name.	Date of Conviction.	Sentence.	Place of Imprisonment.
Mr. Donald McEwan	May 19	9 months	Calton Gaol, Edinburgh
*Mr. Robson Paige	July 15	1 month	Pentonville
*Miss Dulcie West	July 29	1 month	Holloway
Miss Irene Casey	Oct. 3	3 months' h.l.	Bradford
*Miss Mary Richardson	Remanded Oct. 4	Holloway
Miss Rachel Peace	Remanded Oct. 4	Holloway
Miss Dalglieh	Oct. 7	20 days	Holloway
Miss Evans	Oct. 7	10 days	Holloway
Miss Caunter	Oct. 7	15 days	Holloway
Miss Marjorie Paterson	Oct. 7	20 days	Holloway
Mr. Wm. Ball	Oct. 7	20 days	Pentonvilles
*Miss Lenton	Remanded Oct. 8	Holloway

* Re-arrested under the Cat and Mouse Act.

THE PRISON VAN

Who Spoke the Truth?

The *Times* announced a day or two ago that the Commissioner of Police has decided that in future men and women will be conveyed in separate prison vans from the Metropolitan police courts to Brixton and Holloway Gaols. "At present," adds the *Times*, "men and women are conveyed from the police court to prison in the same van, and some time ago serious complaints against the practice were made by women suffragists."

This implies, what is perfectly true, that one more prison scandal has been removed owing to its exposure by militant suffragists. But how were those complaints received when they were first made by Miss Nina Boyle, Miss Shortt, and others?

In the House of Commons last spring the Home Secretary, in reply to a question on the subject, said that "Female prisoners were conveyed in closed compartments entirely separate from males. The sexes were kept entirely separate."

Thus the impression was conveyed that the allegations made by Suffragists were untrue. The announced reform proves that they were true.

AT THE ST. JAMES'S THEATRE

During the performance of Mr. Bernard Shaw's play, "Androcles and the Lion," last Saturday evening, several interjections were made by women in the audience calling attention to the analogy between the arguments used against the early Christians and those employed today by the Government against the militant Suffragists. During one of the intervals a Suffragist rose in a box and addressed the audience. She spoke on the re-arrest of Mrs. Sanders and Miss Kerr, pointing out that they were suffering for their faith as surely as the early Christians who were martyred and ridiculed for what they held to be true.

PRESS COMMENTS

On the Re-Arrest of the W.S.P.U. Officials

We have never understood the grounds on which these women were convicted. They repudiated responsibility for policy, and Miss Kerr, in particular, made a very clear statement that her department was the management of Lincoln's Inn House, and the supervision of office routine. She added that her business did not touch on the militant side of the movement, that she had not committed any militant act, and had not taken part in a militant demonstration. We are not aware that the Crown disputes this statement, or has offered evidence to show it is false. Why, then, this punishment, and re-punishment?—Nation.

There has been a lengthy correspondence between Mr. McKenna at the Home Office and Miss Kerr, of the Women's Social and Political Union, and her friends. The only conclusion any intelligent person can arrive at, after perusing these letters, is that there has been a serious miscarriage of justice, and Mr. McKenna is not sufficiently intelligent to put it right. It seems quite clear that Mr. Justice Phillimore mistook the management of a lot of perfectly peaceful correspondence for a conspiracy of arson. It is fairly obvious that Miss Kerr never gave orders for the burning of anything except the contents of the waste-paper baskets. If our Liberal governors cannot do justice, they need not make themselves ridiculous. — Daily Herald.

NO PLAYTIME!

A White Paper on the Employment of Children

A White Paper has recently been issued by the Home Office, embodying a report made by Mr. Samuel Pope, barrister, on a bye-law passed by the Devon County Council dealing with the employment of school-children.

The bye-law in question was as follows:

"No child who is liable to attend school full time shall be employed on schooldays between the hours of 8.15 o'clock in the morning and 4.30 o'clock in the afternoon." (8.30 was afterwards substituted for 8.15.)

Owing to the many objections raised to this bye-law, chiefly by Boards of Guardians, District Councils, dairymen, and farmers, an inquiry was instituted by the Home Office, and held in December and January last, at Exeter, Kingsbridge, Dartmouth, South Molton, and Bideford.

Over 2,000 Children Employed

The bye-law was operative over an area in which 60,579 children were on the school registers, and, roughly, the number actually employed was said to be 2,000; but this Mr. Pope considers to be very much below the correct figures. He says: "On the question of age, I may say that there were instances of children going into employment at seven and eight years of age, but, as a rule, they do not start until they are in the fourth standard, i.e., from nine to ten years old, the principal age being from ten to eleven, and this is the age for 'boarding out.' I was satisfied that investigation would show that a substantial number of children of eleven years and under are engaged in regular employment, both in town and country."

The Devon County Council passed the bye-law in an attempt to ensure the children's attendance at school, properly fed, clothed, and up to time; for, from the information they had received from the school authorities, it seemed that in many cases this was quite impossible, owing to the children being employed right up to school-time. The following were the principal contentions put forward by those who opposed it:—That the bye-law would mean real hardship to poor parents, and especially to widows, who required the children's earnings or their services for errands, or were glad for the child to obtain a good mid-day meal in return for services; it made the lot of the small farmer still more difficult; it would probably necessitate the children rising earlier and their being withdrawn from school at as early an age as possible; also, it added to the present-day tendency among country folk to leave the land through not familiarising children with it when young.

Nature of the Work

From evidence taken, children's work in Devon may be summarised as follows:—
Urban: (a) before school; errands, milk and newspaper delivery, certain domestic work, and shop-cleaning. (In Devon many of the towns are extremely hilly, with many steps, which necessitates arduous walking.) (b) In the lunch hour, errands and newspaper delivery, as in most towns the London papers arrive during the morning.

In Rural Districts: Errands, milk delivery, and agricultural work. The running of errands is essential, because of the distance at which people live from one another, and also because of the age of many of the inhabitants. (In one village there were twenty-two old people aged seventy, six over eighty, and one over ninety.) The distances are felt most in the delivery of milk, and a farmer will often send eight or ten cans of milk by one of his children, to be left at cottages on the way to school.

A gruesome reflection on the home resources of these children is the passage in the Report referring to the boys who live with a farmer and do work out of school hours in return for their board. "This arrangement," it says, "is appreciated by the farm labourer with a family of eight or ten children to feed and clothe on a money wage of 15s. a week."

Effects of Employment

The White Paper, remarking that excessive employment of children is now generally accepted as injurious, adds that there is great diversity of opinion as to what constitutes "excessive" employment; and though, as stated, there was opposition to the bye-law from some quarters, throughout the inquiry schoolmasters and education officials, those having immediate charge of the children, were unanimously in favour of it.

"It was the opinion of all of them that the employed children did not make the progress, and were not promoted in the same manner, as other boys would be."

"The headmaster of one of the village

schools in the Honiton district, with ninety-one children on the register, said that he had ten cases of children giving difficulty by reason of their employment."

One boy of twelve lived two miles from school; in nine months he had been late sixty-five times. He had to milk six cows before starting for school, and clean out, very often, many of the stalls. He had been seen often running as hard as he could to school to save his attendance mark. "He is rather deficient, because when he gets to school he very often lies down and goes to sleep."

A boy in South Devon had to start at 6.30 and walk 3½ miles to the railway station to fetch papers, numbering twenty to fifty, bring them back, and deliver as many as possible before school at nine o'clock. On wet mornings he was soaked through, and had to be sent to dry himself at the schoolmaster's kitchen fire.

Dr. George Adkins, County and School Medical Officer, states that of the 57,000 school children he examined, 4 per cent. of the boys had weak hearts on entering school, and .8 per cent. on leaving; 15 per cent. were below normal height on entering, 42 per cent. on leaving; 26 per cent. were below normal weight on entering, 33 per cent. on leaving.

Hinders Their Education and Undermines Their Health

The White Paper concludes by recommending that the bye-law should apply throughout Devon, and says: "On careful review of the evidence, I consider it was proved that not only in urban areas, but in rural areas as well, throughout the county, a substantial number of children are being employed in such a way as to hinder materially their education, and in many cases to undermine in some degree their health." Certain concessions were, however, recommended on the ground that in a large number of cases employments were beneficial to children, because of the meals they were given; also, there was no complaint from any schoolmaster that mid-day employment was prejudicial; it was rather looked upon by both parents and masters as a means of keeping the children out of mischief.

CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY

At the International Conference for the Protection of Labour, which sat at Berne recently, the following recommendations with regard to employed children were included in the acte final, signed by the delegates:—

"That the convention shall forbid night work for youthful workers under the age of 16 employed in industrial concerns. This prohibition is to be absolute in all cases. For children under the age of 14 the period of rest at night is to be at least eleven consecutive hours, including in every case the time between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m."

"That the working day of young workers under the age of 16 shall not exceed ten hours, except by special arrangements on the basis of a sixty hours' working week, in which case the period of work for a single day shall not exceed 10½ hours."

Child Workers in the States

The *Woman's Journal* (Boston) of September 20 published a picture of little boy and girl workers employed in a cannery, some of them not much more than babies. This is terrible, it is true; but as long as we allow children in this country to be made unfit for school by excessive employment in what should be their play-time, we have no right to criticise our neighbours in this respect. Apart from the employment of boys, as demonstrated in the White Paper we summarise on this page, there is the perpetual employment of girls in the home, which turns them into little drudges without the compensation of wages. And that will always go on as long as woman's status is what it is, and women's work in the home is not held to be worth paying for.

INFANTILE MORTALITY

A report on infantile mortality was presented to the Shoreditch Borough Council on Tuesday last by the Medical Officer of Health, and not only was it a terrible indictment of the conditions under which the poor have to bring up their children, but it proved also to what an extent bad housing is a cause of infantile mortality. In Shoreditch the rate of mortality among infants is 128, as compared with 91 for London as a whole, out of every 1,000 births.

The Medical Officer points out as a cause of this high mortality the "want of space," which is not exactly overcrowding "such as can be legally dealt with by the Sanitation Act." He goes on to show that there are in Shoreditch, "as compared with London generally, nearly three times as many persons dwelling on each acre."

The *Daily News*, referring in a leading article to the above report and to the conferences on the same question being held this week at Hull (see page 21), says: "It is good to see that the best women are thinking what it means, and asking searching questions. That is already the beginning of better things."

We fail to see what good it is for women to ask "searching questions" unless they have a vote with which to force the answers to their questions from the Government, who alone are responsible for the delay in housing reform.

Chapter 5**What Some Folks**

call clean, others don't.

The particular woman wants her clothes "a nice colour."

That's why particular women like Fels-Naptha.

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Seems strange, but so did matches at first.

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COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS**LIGHT SENTENCES****For Ruining Little Girls**

The *Berwickshire News* (September 30) reports the case of a youth of seventeen, charged at Berwick with assaulting two little girls in a garden. He pleaded guilty. The Chairman said the Bench felt this was "a very serious case."

Sentence:—A fine of £4 (£2 each), costs not being imposed.

For Assaulting a Grandmother

The *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* (October 3) reports case of a young man charged at Blyth with assaulting an elderly woman (his grandmother by marriage) by going to her house, taking her by the hair, and knocking her down on the floor.

Sentence:—A fine of 10s. and costs.

For Assaulting a Wife

The *Aberdeen Free Press* (September 30) reports case of a labourer charged at Aberdeen Police Court with assaulting his wife, striking her on the face, dragging her about by her hair, striking her on the breast with his fist, and rendering her temporarily unconscious. It was also said that he seldom gave his wife any money to keep the house. His defence was that it was the first time he had assaulted his wife. (This was not true.)

Sentence:—Thirty days' imprisonment.

THE SHELTERED WIFE

Of all "spoilt darlings of the law," the wife is generally held up by the Anti-Suffragist as the most striking example of the voteless woman who enjoys protection and privileges. What has the sentimental "Anti" to say to the case reported above, in which the husband who had half-killed his wife (in addition to failing entirely to support her, so that she had to go to her parents for assistance) was actually allowed to say in his own defence that it was the first time that he had assaulted her!

I Thought It Was my Wife

Lest this ingenuous admission of the man's right to knock his wife about be thought an isolated instance, we call our readers' attention to a paragraph in last Sunday's *Observer*, headed "A Husband's Mistake." It relates the case of a bus washer who was charged at West London Police Court with going up to a laundress as she was saying good-night to her sweetheart at the gate, seizing her round the neck and throwing her into the road.

The defendant said: "I have apologised to her. I thought it was my wife."

The *Observer* report adds that the policeman who arrested the man agreed "there was a resemblance between the two women." The magistrate evidently shared the prevailing feeling that the defence was a tenable one, and discharged the defendant on his paying 10s. compensation to the prosecutrix.

Would such a dialogue be possible in any Court of Law (off the comic opera stage) unless the wife were regarded as the property of the husband?

A SUFFRAGIST COMPARISON

The *Journal of Education*, commenting on a sentence given to a boy's mother, who went to his school and assaulted the teacher who had caned him, says:—

"Ten shillings or fourteen days seems too light a punishment for the virago, especially when one considers that women suffragists have been fined pounds, with the alternative of one or two months' im-

prisonment, for that highly technical and almost indefinable offence, 'obstructing the police in the discharge of their duty.'

We entirely agree that fourteen days, with the option of a fine, is far too light a sentence for a common assault, as compared, for instance, with Miss Bell's sentence, only the other day, of two months' hard labour for breaking a Home Office window as political protest. And still more shameful are the light sentences given—even so little as a twenty shillings' fine, as at Manchester recently—for indecently assaulting little girls, while for very slight damage to letters in a pillar-box (done to draw attention to the political disabilities of women, which makes such light sentences possible), Miss Gay has just finished serving a sentence of eight months.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—One finds so much to agree with in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* that I dislike, and dislike very much, to raise a jarring note. Perhaps I ought to say that I have been a reader and not altogether an unsupporter of the paper since its inception, so now we ought to start on fair lines. *Votes for Woman* must come as night follows day; there can't be two opinions about that.

I also think that you are right in urging greater punishment to the female outrage than is at present awarded in so many cases. But don't let us send every husband that "hurts" his wife a bit, and some of them take a lot of hurting, you will perhaps allow, to gaol. It does not always have the desired effect—he may be hardened to it—and the woman and children lose their only means of support. Granted, if a woman wishes a separation and the facts warrant it, in God's name let her have it! But how many really do want it? The warrant half the time is held over simply at the wish of the wife. She does not want her man to be taken, and there it is in a nutshell.—Yours, &c.,

FRANK MARSHALL.
St. Stephen's Chambers, D.C.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge
President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman
The Tower Hill demonstration was a very great success. Our Whitechapel friends were present in large numbers, and among the audience we were glad to notice many members of other societies. Our most sincere thanks are due to the Actresses' Franchise League, the Women Writers' Suffrage League, the Women's Tax Resistance League, and all those who in any way helped to support us at this meeting.

Tuesday "At Home." — The first "At Home" after the holidays took place on Tuesday, October 7, when Mrs. Merivale Mayer spoke to an interested audience on "Facing the Facts." These weekly meetings have always been one of the most popular features of the N.C.S. campaign. It has been the aim of the Society not only to secure the most distinguished speakers, but also to make these gatherings as socially interesting as possible. That we have been successful in our attempt is proved by the fact that before the holidays it was found necessary to obtain a much larger room for the accommodation of our ever-increasing audience. The new room, as our members know, is not only very much larger than the old one, but very bright and airy. By the acquisition of this room, our expenses have been added to considerably, and every member should consider it a point of honour to bring as many friends as possible to the "At Homes."

Christmas Bazaar. — Now that the holidays are over, we appeal to all members to get to work in good earnest. Preparations are being made at headquarters to make the bazaar very widely known; and the fact that the decorative scheme has been undertaken by Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck is sufficient to ensure its being a marvel of beauty. It rests with our members to make of the sale a great financial success.

FUTURE MEETINGS

Sunday, October 12.—Hyde Park, noon.
Miss McGowan.
Tuesday, October 14.—143a, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. Her Highness the Ranees of Sarawak, Rev. F. M. Green. Hostess, Mrs. Ashley Cowan. 3 p.m.

COMING EVENTS

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship and the Church League will hold a meeting at the Town Hall, Ilford, on October 14, at 8 p.m. Chairman: The Right Rev. Bishop Powell. Speakers: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Rev. F. M. Green. Tickets: 2s. to 3d., obtainable from Miss Hawley, 51, Grosvenor Road, Ilford.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage will hold an "At Home" at the Caxton Hall on October 14, at 3 p.m. Chairman: Rev. F. M. Green. Speakers: Mrs. Cather, Mrs. J. E. Francis, and Rev. C. Hinscliff.

For particulars of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship Meeting on October 16, see page 14.

A Dramatic Version of Longfellow's "Hiawatha" will be given by the Women's Freedom League on November 4, at 3 p.m. and at 8 p.m., in the Cripplegate Institute, Golden Lane, E.C.

The London Convention of the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, on December 6, at 8 p.m., is being organised by Miss Lilian Hicks, 33, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, to whom all communications and offers of hospitality, from Saturday, 6th, to Monday, 8th, should be directed.

Mr. Laurence Housman will lecture on "Petticoat Government" at a meeting of the Women's Freedom League at the Caxton Hall on October 20 at 8 p.m.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE AT THE CONGRESS

The honorary secretary of the new branch of the Church League for Women's Suffrage, which has now been inaugurated at Southampton, tells us that forty meetings were held by the League in that town during the session of the Church Congress last week. The magnificent demonstration in the Palace Theatre, which was packed to the doors, was an expression of the whole feeling of the Congress in its attitude towards woman and the woman's question. Large numbers of clergy signed the Suffrage petition of Bishops and Clergy, which is being organised by the League.

WOMEN IN THE CHURCH

At the Bishop of Lichfield's Diocesan Conference, held at Stafford recently, it was resolved that the qualification for women electors in parochial church matters should be the same as for men, the Bishop speaking against a suggestion that the minimum age for women should be twenty-five. The question of an age limit, he said, was avowedly illogical.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Artists' Suffrage League,
250, King's Road, S.W.
Australian and New Zealand Women
Voters' Association,
Co. International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Soho Road, Highbury.
Conservative and Unionist Women's Fran
chise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.
Federated Council of Women's Suffrage
Societies,
14, St. James' Street, S.W.
Forward Gymnastic Suffrage Union,
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
Free Church League for Women's Suffrage
2, Holbury View, Upper Clapton.
Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.
Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
International Suffrage Shop,
11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
International Woman Suffrage Alliance,
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Irish League for Woman Suffrage
The Union of the Four Provinces Club, 16, John
Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Building, Gt. Brunswick St.,
Dublin.
Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Govern
ment Association,
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.
Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
League of Justice,
22, South Molton Street, W.
London Graduates' Union for Woman
Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.
Marchers' Quie Yive Corps,
Duncton, Paworth, Sussex.
Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
Men's Political Union for Women's Enfran
chisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.
Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.
National Industrial and Professional
Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
National Political League,
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.
National Union of Women's Suffrage
Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
New Constitutional Society for Woman
Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
Northern Men's Federation for Women's
Suffrage,
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.
Scottish Churches League for Woman
Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.
Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.
Suffrage Atelier,
Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Studio: 6, Stanhope Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
Suffrage Club,
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.
Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Com
mittee,
21, Donside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.
Votes for Women Fellowship,
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage
Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.
Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
Women Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.
Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY

In Westminster Abbey last Sunday morning, when the Dean was reading the Sixth Commandment, a body of women chanted the words:

"God save Anne Kenney, Harriett Kerr, and Beatrice Sanders. Their enemies torture them for they know their cause is righteous. Save all who are persecuted and suffer for conscience sake."

Vergers at once hastened up to the women and asked them to leave, which they did without disturbance.

Another body of women then took up the chant, and left the Abbey as the others had done on being requested to do so. The accidental overturning of a form may have given rise to the report in one paper that there was some disturbance before the interrupters were ejected.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

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- To sell VOTES FOR WOMEN in the streets or by house to house canvass.
- To obtain new subscriptions for three or six months to the paper.
- To deal as far as possible with the firms that advertise in VOTES FOR WOMEN.
- To canvass newsagents with the purpose of securing the display of VOTES FOR WOMEN posters.
- To secure new members for the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship.
- To contribute to the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship Fund, for various purposes, including the upkeep of the paper.
- To extend by other methods of service the influence of the Fellowship and the circulation of the paper.

Object. — To dispel the ignorance that exists in the mind of the public with regard to the "Votes for Women" agitation.

To tell the true story of the Movement, both in its constitutional and militant development, and also to show the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt.

The "Votes for Women" Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the accomplishment of a very distinct and definite purpose. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organization. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy.

Please enrol me as a member of the "Votes for Women" Fellowship.

Name.....

(Please state whether Mr., Miss, or Esq., etc.)

Full Address.....

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